

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LISBON 00985 01 OF 02 201444 Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 EA-11 EB-11 COME-00 AID-20

TRSE-00 XMB-07 OPIC-12 T-03 IO-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-09 H-02 INR-09 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12 RSR-01 CU-04 ACDA-19 /208 W

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R 201325 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7743

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 0985

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XA, PO, US

SUBJ: CONVERSATIONS WITH PORTUGUESE

1. SUMMARY: ASSISTANT SECRETARY NEWSOM MET MARCH 19 WITH PRINCIPAL ARCHITECTS PORTUGUESE POLICY IN AFRICA, PRIME MINISTER CAETANO AND OVERSEAS MINISTER SILVA CUNHA. TWO MEN REPEATED FAMILIAR PORTUGUESE POSITIONS WITH STRESS ON GROWING CHINESE INFLUENCE IN AFRICA AND INSTABILITY AFRICAN LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY

2. IN SEPARATE MEETING MARCH 19, ASSISTANT SECRETARY
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PAGE 02 LISBON 00985 01 OF 02 201444 Z

NEWSOM MET OVERSEAS MINISTER SILVA CUNHA AND PRIME MINISTER CAETANO. EACH MEETING, LASTING IN EXCESS HOUR AND HALF WAS FRANK AND CORDIAL. NEWSOM ACCOMPANIED BY CHARGE POST.

3. REFERRING HIS USEFUL TALKS WITH AMBASSADOR THEMIDO, NEWSOM EXPRESSED HIS DESIRE LEARN DIRECTLY FROM PORTUGUESE LEADERSHIP THEIR VIEWS REGARDING PRESENT SITUATION AND FUTURE OF OVERSEAS TERRITORIES. HE EXPLAINED SEVERAL FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCED U. S. POLICIES TOWARD AFRICA, INCLUDING DOMESTIC CONSTITUENCY, GROWING U. S. INVESTMENT IN BLACK AFRICA, INCREASING PRIORITY BEING GIVEN BY MANY KEY AFRICANS TO SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND U. S. DESIRE FOR EFFECTIVE RELATIONS WITH ALL AFRICAN STATES. HE STRESSED U. S. POLICY MUST CONTINUE BE BALANCED BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE AFRICA AND U. S. COULD NOT AFFORD BE UNIQUELY IDENTIFIED WITH OUTLOOK WHITE REGIME IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. U. S. DID NOT SEE ANY PARTICULAR ROLE FOR ITSELF IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, BUT DID EARNESTLY DESIRE FIND AND SUPPORT WAYS, IF SUCH EXISTED, IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND AFRICAN STATES.

4. NEWSOM STRESSED U. S. DESIRE FOR CLOSE RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL, RECOGNITION OF PORTUGUESE ROLE IN AFRICA, AND HIS IMPRESSION AFRICAN NATIONS DESIRED FIND POLITICALLY FEASIBLE APPROACH TO BETTER RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL. IN THIS CONNECTION HE MENTIONED SPECIAL ZAMBIAN APPRECIATION FOR PORTUGUESE ATTITUDE ON USE OF RAILROADS FOLLOWING CLOSING RHODESIAN BORDER.

5. WHILE EMPHASES WERE SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT, RESPONSES BY TWO MEN WERE PRACTICALLY IDENTICAL. PRINCIPAL POINTS MADE WERE:

A. PORTUGUESE DETERMINED CREATE MULTI- RACIAL SOCIETIES IN THEIR OVERSEAS PROVINCES. SITUATION SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT IN GUINEA BECAUSE WHITE POPULATION SMALLER, BUT POLICY ESSENTIALLY SAME. MULTIRACIALISM IN PORTUGUESE DEFINITION ESSENTIALLY MEANS PRESERVING WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND A SATISFACTORY POSITION FOR WHITE MINORITY WHILE INCREASING EDUCATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR BLACKS AND MULATTOES. IN CONTEXT OF NEWSOM REFERENCE TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 00985 01 OF 02 201444 Z

SELF- DETERMINATION, PRIME MINISTER SAID PARTICIPATION IN

GOVERNMENT OPEN TO ALL IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE BUT STRICTLY ACCORDING TO MERIT. CAETANO MADE IT CLEAR HIS VISION OF SUCCESSFUL MULTI- RACIAL GOVERNMENT DOES NOT INCLUDE POSSIBILITY OF BLACK PREDOMINANCE SINCE THIS WOULD SWIFTLY LEAD TO WHITE EXPULSION FROM GOVERNMENT FOLLOWED SHORTLY THEREAFTER BY EXPULSION FROM COUNTRY. CAETANO STATED SOUTH AFRICANS WERE MAKING SERIOUS MISTAKE IN ENCOURAGING AFRICANS DEVELOP THEIR TRIBAL CULTURES RATHER THAN INCULCATING THEM WITH WESTERN CIVILIZATION. CAETANO PLACED SPECIAL STRESS ON HIS OBLIGATION TO WHITES IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA.

B. THERE WOULD BE NO TREATING WITH MEMBERS OF LIBERATION GROUPS AS SUCH BECAUSE THEY DID NOT REPRESENT PEOPLE OF TERRITORIES. PAIGC LEADERS, FOR EXAMPLE, REPRESENTED ONLY PAIGC, NOT THE 30 TRIBES OF THAT SMALL TERRITORY. (CAETANO REFERRED TO RECENT VISIT TO GUINEA BY BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO LISBON WHO ON HIS RETURN, " HAVING SEEN FOR HIMSELF", ADVISED GOP THEY HAD ONLY TO TELL THE WORLD THE TRUTH IN ORDER RELIEVE PRESSURE ON THEM.) CAETANO ALSO REJECTED HAVING INDIVIDUALS REPRESENTING INSURGENT GROUPS INCLUDED IN ANY LARGER FORUM WITH OTHER REPRESENTATIVES FROM WITHIN TERRITORIES. SILVA CUNHA ASSERTED THAT PORTUGUESE PUBLIC OPINION WOULD NOT TOLERATE TALKS WITH INSURGENTS. ON OTHER HAND, INDIVIDUALS FROM GROUPS WHO RENOUNCED MEMBERSHIP SUCH ORGANIZATION WOULD BE WELCOME BACK AND WOULD BE GIVEN JOBS. SILVA CUNHA MENTIONED MURUPA, FORMERLY OF FRELIMO, WHO HAD BEEN GIVEN JOB AND WHOM HE WAS IN FACT SEEING FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH US.

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PAGE 01 LISBON 00985 02 OF 02 201432 Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 0985

C. CHINESE REPRESENT GREATEST THREAT TO WESTERN POSITION IN AFRICA, WHICH PORTUGUESE SEEKING TO PRESERVE. CAETANO REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO "YELLOW WAVE", ASSERTED THAT AMERICANS, BRITISH, EVEN RUSSIANS, ALL BEING WHITE, COULD NOT COMPETE WITH CHINESE WHO, NEXT TO PORTUGUESE, HAVE SHOWN "UNIQUE ABILITY TO LIVE WITH AND BE ACCEPTED BY BLACKS." SILVA CUNHA MENTIONED HIS UNDERSTANDING THERE WERE 30,000 CHINESE IN TANZANIA, CAETANO 40,000. CAETANO SAID CHINESE IN LARGE NUMBERS WOULD SHORTLY BE COMING TO ZAIRE. CHINESE "PAID OFF" MALAGASY DEBT TO FRANCE SO MADAGASCAR WOULD TURN AWAY FROM FRENCH CONNECTION.

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PAGE 02 LISBON 00985 02 OF 02 201432 Z

D. BLACK AFRICAN LEADERSHIP WAS BASICALLY UNSTABLE. SEKOU TOURE WAS MAD. MOBUTU WAS IN MANY WAYS GOOD MAN BUT WAS BEING MISLED. KAUNDA WAS "DIFFERENT MAN EVERY DAY." SENGHOR WAS FRENCHMAN, UNPREDICTABLE, AND STAYED ALOOF FROM PEOPLE AND PROBLEMS. (CAETANO STRESSED HE KNEW SENGHOR PARTICULARLY WELL.) HOUPHOUET, THOUGH MORE REALISTIC, TRIED TO PLAY USEFUL ROLE BUT DID NOT HAVE INFLUENCE WITH OTHER AFRICANS. SILVA CUNHA PARTICULARLY STRESSED THAT KAUNDA WAS PRINCIPAL SOURCE PORTUGUESE DIFFICULTIES WITH HIS SHELTER TO LIBERATION GROUPS. NEITHER MAN COMMENTED ON NYERERE.

E. UNITED NATIONS AS BIASED AND UNABLE PLAY ANY USEFUL ROLE. CAETANO DISMISSED IDEA OF TALKS WITH AFRICANS WHICH HE HAD EARLIER CALLED FOR SAYING THAT ANY SUCH TALKS ARRANGED THROUGH UN WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR PORTUGUESE IN VIEW UN FAVORITISM FOR AFRICANS.

F. CAETANO WAS QUERIED ABOUT POSSIBILITY EMERGENCE OF ANY NOTICEABLE BLACK LEADERSHIP IN TERRITORIES WHICH MIGHT PLAY ROLE VIS- A- VIS AFRICAN STATES, PERHAPS ALONG LINES BUTHELEZI IN ZULULAND, WHO, THOUGH CRITICAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM, WAS WORKING WITHIN IT AND AT SAME TIME WINNING INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION. PRIME MINISTER REPLIED, SOMEWHAT SADLY, THAT PORTUGUESE HAD DIFFICULTY ATTRACTING EDUCATED AFRICANS TO POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY IN TERRITORIES. HE REFERRED TO FACT THAT BLACK UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FROM TERRITORIES HAD BEEN " PRESSURED", BY AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AMONG OTHERS, TO FLEE PORTUGAL AFTER START OF INSURRECTION IN 1961 AND THAT THOSE REMAINING DID NOT WANT TO RETURN FOR SERVICE IN OVERSEAS TERRITORIES.

6. RESULTS CONVERSATIONS CAN PERHAPS BE BEST SUMMARIZED BY NEWSOM' S COMMENT TO PRIME MINISTER : " IT WOULD THEN APPEAR YOU SEE LITTLE ALTERNATIVE TO CONTINUATION PRESENT PORTUGUESE POLICIES AND WARS." CAETANO AGREED.

7. REPORT CONVERSATION WITH PATRICIO MARCH 20 AND FURTHER COMMENT WILL FOLLOW.
POST

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Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
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